1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added.

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states.

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously

ltHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

644 252 and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city.

[111] [815] [111] [111] "We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

644 286 As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR5 Bush Negroes SR5
Saramacca

And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

There were times, however, when women did not go into mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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Combs, the gifts of men to women.

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A tray for winnowing rice. (Symbolism on pages 282–283.)

[Facing P. 214]

11 Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Saramacca

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Carvings the women were eager to have admired: comb; clothes beater; tray.

[Facing P. 239]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
583 Bush Negroes 583
Saramacca

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
906 council house of the Granman."
987 "Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
998 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[350] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1929-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle.

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: "*Wakka bon na watra, bakkra.*"—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

keep them dry, is a carved calabash gourd, with a tight-fitting waterproof cover made from another gourd. These are stored away amidship, along with high piles of cassava cakes and jugs of mareepa oil, the native soft drink. The women also add to the cargo a small gipsy cooking-pot and an unclean shotgun.

There is much talkee-talkee during the loading. After the lapse of some time a second start is made, and the poling begins again. After hours on the river, around bend after bend, and through innumerable passages of rapid and rough water, we encounter a Bush Negro corial coming downstream. In it are two paddlers, and a woman with a little boy. Immediately the Djukas bring the boats together for a gossip and palaver. The strangers pay little attention to the bahkra, except a curt nod in answer to his greeting. But they ask the paddlers all about the white man, who he is, where he is going, and where he comes from. Flagawai replies in detail, and for his part asks news of the upper river. The strangers have come from a distant, picturesquely named village many days up the Surinam River, Futu No Habbe Ackaba, "The Foot That Has No Resting-Place." This signifies the long journey required to reach it, but the phrase might be taken as symbolical of the many enforced journeyings of the Negro race.

The powwow continues for some time. Our restless hints pass unnoticed. Unlike other natives, who can be commanded and beaten, the Djukas are independent; to give them orders is out of the question. The traveller who at-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Clearing in a Bush Negro Village, Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 44]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.
Photo by Carid.

[Facing p. 64]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

224 648 The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bahkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

482 415 177 The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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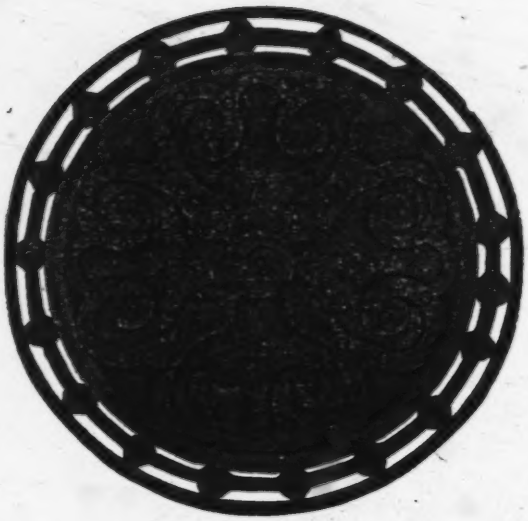

Tray Three Feet in Diameter Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk. *Boni Tribe*, French Guiana. Four Stylized Human Figures Showing Arms and Trunk.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 72]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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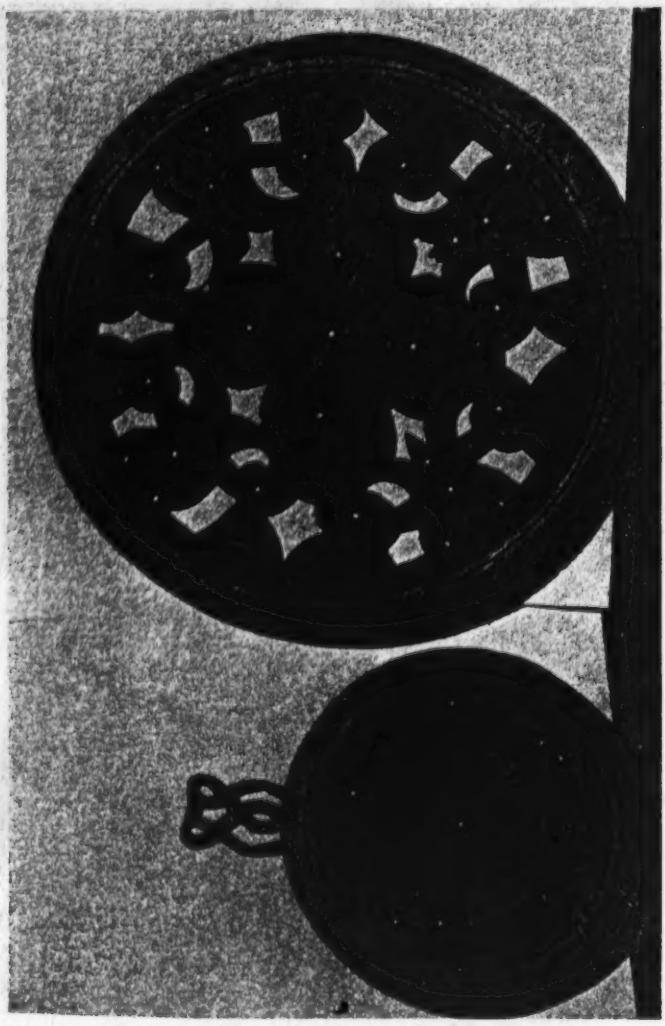

Carved Wooden Trays for Carrying Food. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River. The Central Figure on the Smaller Tray is That of a Dancing Woman.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 76]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Carved Calabash Gourds Used as Plates. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Photo by Herbert Heller

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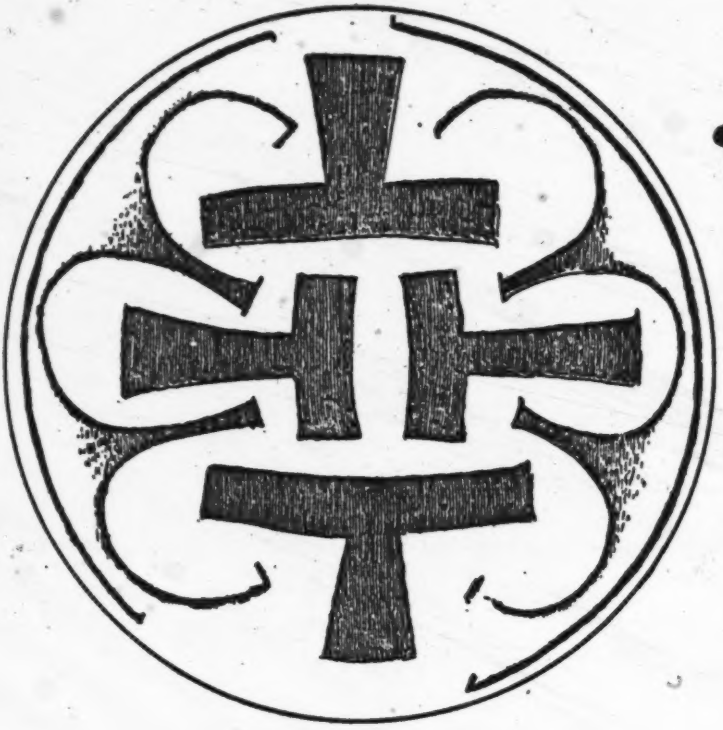
A Bush Negro Stool, Three Feet Long, Known as "Lebba Bangi" (Moon Stool), Taking Its Name from the Moon in the Crescent Phase. *Saramaccaner Tribe*. Stools of almost the identical nature are found in the Ashanti region of West Africa. This motif is probably one of the most striking West African Survivals.

Photo by Herbert Heller

[Facing p. 80]



[H15 1/1 532]

Chapter Six

FOOD IN THE JUNGLE

THE Bush Negroes investigate our equipment with great delight, and are much amused by our table manners. They gather around and comment on the food. Often they pick up an empty can discarded by Bundle, the cook, and wrinkle their noses in disgust at the smell of it. They seem to prefer their own food. 648 186

1/1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. - Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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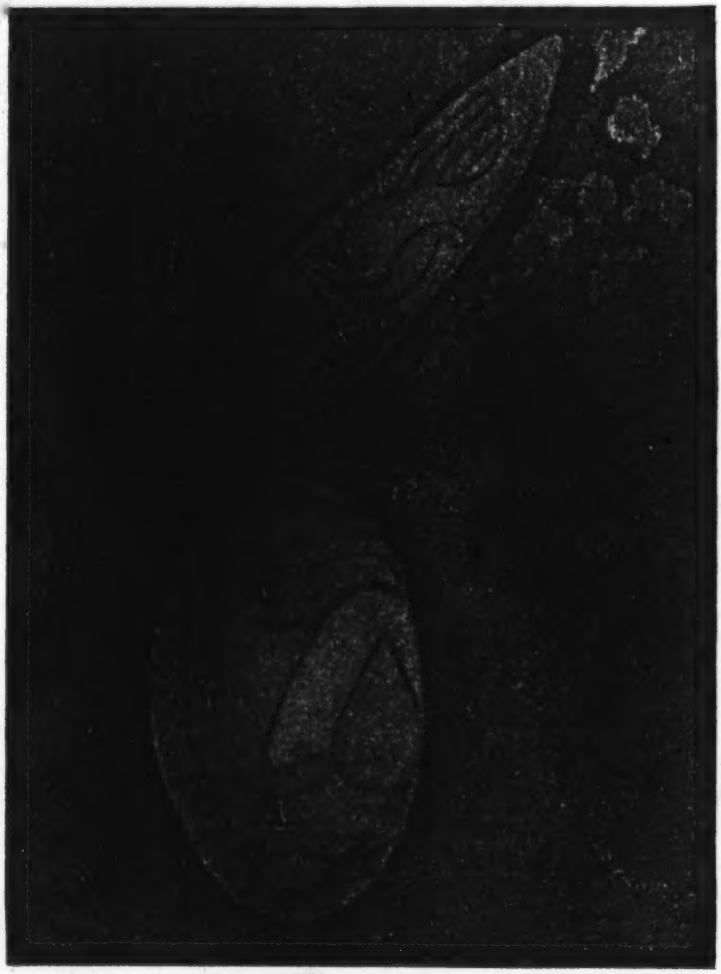

Plate and Spoon of Carved Calabash Gourd. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 88]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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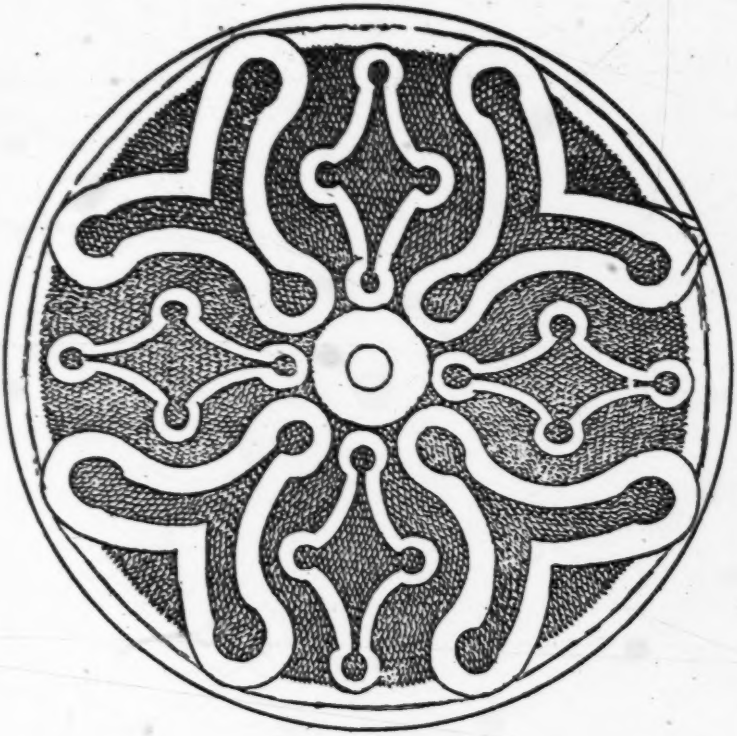
[415 532]



Chapter Ten

DJUKA TALK

THE Bush Negroes have two languages. The ordinary tongue, phrases from which are scattered throughout this book, is known as talkee-talkee. It is the common *lingua franca* of the entire colony, used not only by the Djukas, but also by some of the Indians and by the Town Negroes of

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1/1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. - Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Common household implements for everyday use had to be made out of different material. Wood was used wherever possible. So in place of iron the Bush Negroes developed an elaborate and beautiful art of carving domestic utensils. Pots are stirred with wooden paddles instead of with iron ladles. Enormous wooden trays are used for carrying food. Combs, stools, beaters, and a dozen other implements all bear evidence of this extraordinary technique of wood carving, and this too is a heritage from their African ancestry.

In tracing the relationship between any two cultures, such as the West African and the Bush Negro, we should always bear in mind the possibility that both developed independently and that similarities between them may be due to the influence of similar environments rather than to actual culture contact. Thus, for example, while the Djuka corial is hollowed out of solid logs in a fashion similar to the West African canoe, which at once suggests borrowing, it is also true that the rapid waters of the Surinam, Marowyne, and Saramacca Rivers make any other kind of board or bark canoe impracticable. The Bush Negroes' dugout canoes may be an independent adaptation to the environment rather than a heritage from Africa.

This difficulty is a common one in anthropological speculation; examples are to be found on all hands. Thus, it has been maintained that the Reindeer Men who lived in France during the Magdalenian Age are related to the present-day Eskimo, because their bone implements and crude drawings bear certain resemblances, although the two races are

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam:* "The Loanga Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye,* a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu,* is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431 415]
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [264]
hung up on a peg.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly developed among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The basketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and competent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yam., rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

List of Carvings Shown at Chapter Openings with Explanation of Symbolism

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Eight Women Dancing Around a Gadu Pole (title page)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Male and Female Figures (page 133)

Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

/9 cont./ they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their small children live in a single hut.

Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings, are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst, he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

4 Geijskes--19 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 SRS Bush Negroes SRS

142
291
302
516
[243]

Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

[272]

4: Getpkes--20 G,N-S (1952)1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

252
415
516
291

Fig. 13. The pitting of the maripa palm, from which the kernels (lying on a plate on a kerosene tin), after drying in the sun, are used for boiling edible oil out of them. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

Fig. 14. Winnowing rice with the "kède," after it has been pounded in a matta. -- Tapanahoni, Granbori, May 1952.

/151 cont./
249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees prob-ably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
252 like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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●415
291

Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

764
789
142
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516
482

Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

/171 cont./

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔlɔmɛ̃, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kosoïda (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asoïda (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Dioté († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[969] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight [692] o'clock, the ɩ̃ɲti kuutu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

[969] The ɔlɔmɛ̃ and in a general way those who have worked on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔlɔmɛ̃, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of [693] [415] tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.